

The House We Live In



Security and Freedom
Rethought in the mid-
20th Century
Active and Modern
Liberty

- Borne of the Depression and World War II,
- Adolescence in the Cold War
- Reconsidered in the Post Cold War

A Nation of Self-Made Men

Henry Clay

Ralph Waldo Emerson

Horatio Alger

- Opposition to privilege
(Battle line in the age of Jackson)

- Freedom to...

– Contract	Risk	Prosper
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Freedom from...

– Insecurity	Pre-birth lottery	Plutocracy
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- Fundamental Questions

Hand-up vs. Hand-out

Definition of liberty and equality

Populist Manipulation

The House We Live In

In Music

Somewhere Over the Rainbow

God Bless America

This Land is Your Land

America (My Country Tis of Thee)

Whose Freedom and Whose Dream?

Langston Hughes, Let America be America Again, 1938

Let America be America again. Let it be the dream it used to be.
Let it be the pioneer on the plain Seeking a home where he himself is free.
(America never was America to me.)

Let America be the dream the dreamers dreamed-- Let it be that great
strong land of love
Where never kings connive nor tyrants scheme That any man be crushed
by one above. (It never was America to me.)

O, let my land be a land where Liberty Is crowned with no false patriotic
wreath,
But opportunity is real, and life is free, Equality is in the air we breathe.
(There's never been equality for me, Nor freedom in this "homeland of the
free.")

"Somewhere Over the Rainbow"

music by Harold Arlen and lyrics by E.Y. Harburg

Somewhere over the rainbow, Way up high,
There's a land that I heard of Once in a lullaby.
Somewhere over the rainbow, Skies are blue,
And the dreams that you dare to dream
Really do come true.
Someday I'll wish upon a star
And wake up where the clouds are far behind me.



Where troubles melt like lemon drops
Away above the chimney tops
That's where you'll find me.
Somewhere over the rainbow, Bluebirds fly.
Birds fly over the rainbow.
Why then, oh why can't I?
If happy little bluebirds fly
Beyond the rainbow
Why, oh why can't I?



God Bless America

Irving Berlin and Kate Smith

While the storm clouds gather far across the sea,
let us swear allegiance to a land that's free
Let us all be grateful for a land so fair, as we raise
our voices in a solemn prayer

God Bless America, land that I love
Stand beside her and guide her
Thru the night with a light from above

From the mountains to the prairies,
To the oceans white with foam

God Bless America, my home sweet home
God Bless America, my home sweet home



This is the Army, 1941/1943

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=150hLZPeYgg>

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O_dkQkyGx9M

The St. Louis

1803-1804

1804-1805

1805-1806

1806-1807

1807-1808

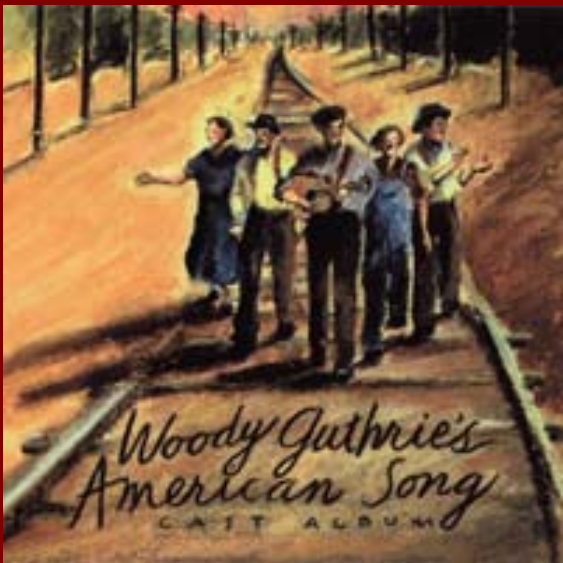
1808-1809

1809-1810

1810-1811

This Land...

“God Blessed America”



This land is your land, this land is
my land;
From [the] California to the
[Staten] New York Island,
From the Redwood Forest, to the
Gulf stream waters,
[God blessed America for me.]

As I was walking that ribbon of highway,
I saw above me that endless skyway:
I saw below me that golden valley:
This land was made for you and me.

I've roamed and rambled and I followed my footsteps
To the sparkling sands of her diamond deserts;
And all around me a voice was sounding:
This land was made for you and me.

When the sun came shining, and I was strolling,
And the wheat fields waving and the dust clouds
rolling,
As the fog was lifting a voice was chanting:
This land was made for you and me.

**As I went walking I saw a sign there
And on the sign it said "No Trespassing."
But on the other side it didn't say nothing,
That side was made for you and me.**

**In the shadow of the steeple I saw my people,
By the relief office I seen my people;
As they stood there hungry, I stood there asking
Is this land made for you and me?**

**Nobody living can ever stop me,
As I go walking that freedom highway;
Nobody living can ever make me turn back
This land was made for you and me.**

A New Vision of Rights, 1944

Lifeboat, an Alfred Hitchcock movie, presented a popular culture vision of unity across boundaries of class and race.



A New Meaning of Security?

An Economic Bill of Rights

- State of the Union, January 11, 1944
 - As our Nation has grown in size and stature, however—as our industrial economy expanded—these political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness.
 - We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. "Necessitous men are not free men." People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.
 - In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all regardless of station, race, or creed.

“Road to Freedom”

G.I. Bill of Rights, July 28, 1943

American veterans "must not be demobilized into an environment of inflation and unemployment, to a place on a bread line or on a street corner selling apples.

The Bonus Army - 1932

1920-22 Bill

- \$1 a day for service, w/additional 25 c. if over-seas
- President Harding argues a tax cut would make America “a better country for which to fight, or to have fought, and affords a surer abiding place in which to live and train” (p. 27)

1924 Bill

- Delayed payment until 1945
- Average payout would be \$ 1000 per vet
- President Coolidge
 - “We owe no bonus to able-bodied veterans of World War I”
- Known as the “Tombstone Bonus”

St. Louis march to Washington.



"Washington Or Bust Bonus We Trust", World War Veterans arrive in Washington DC. (DVA)



Photo from National
Geographic
(Brown Brothers)



Bonus army gathered outside Capitol
Hill, awaiting the Senate vote on the
bonus bill (DVA)



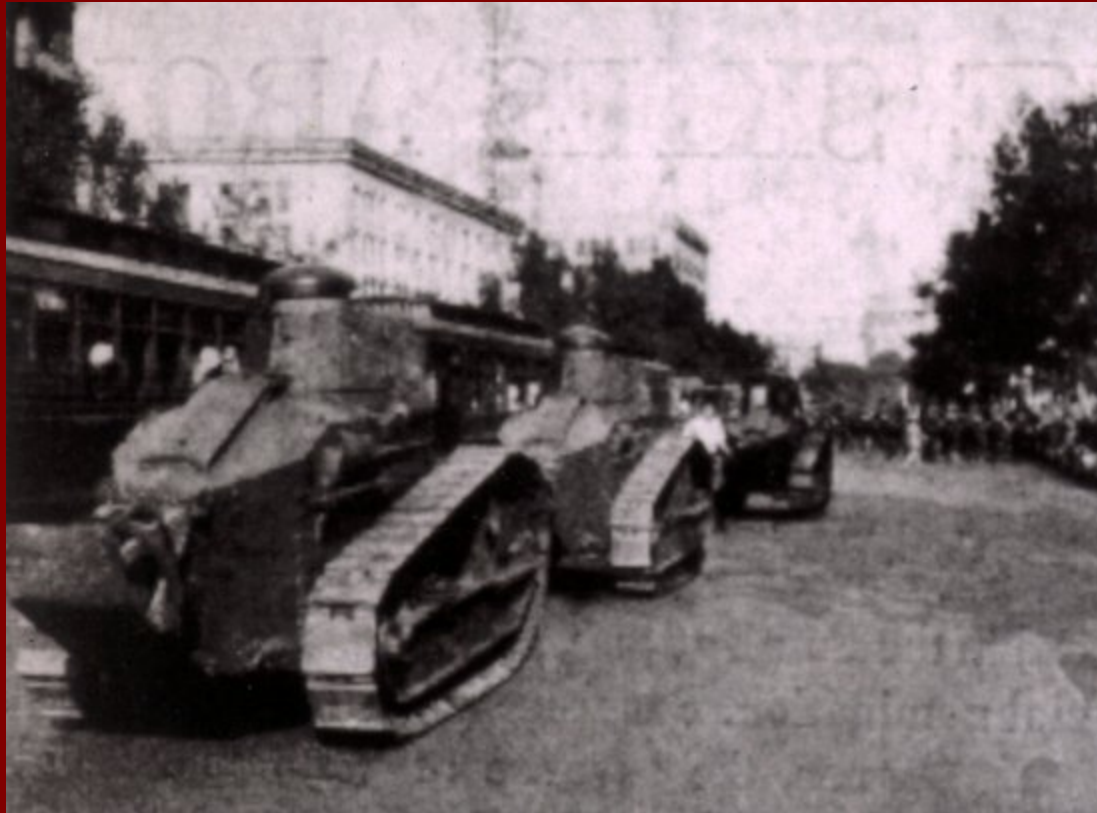


Veterans clash with
Washington police officers
during riot



Washington, D.C. policemen
carrying a World War I veteran
from a building on Pennsylvania
Avenue, July 28, 1932, during the
riots sparked by an eviction
notice.

Tanks at the Bonus Army march to Washington, 1932.
(From Department of Veterans Affairs)





Douglas MacArthur led the federal troops who evacuated the camps. To MacArthur's left, with his hand to his face, is his principal aide, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

General Douglas MacArthur Foundation

A soldier in a gas mask stands amid rubble and tear gas while evicting men from an encampment along Pennsylvania Avenue, July 29, 1932. In background, WWI veterans leaving the area.



A Camp Ablaze

After clearing out the marchers, MacArthur's troops burned the camps on Pennsylvania Avenue.



The camp in Anacostia, home to some 20,000 Bonus marchers, after it was burned by Douglas MacArthur's troops.

GI Bill

Details

- Gave four years of college, as well as a living allowance
- Helped buy a home or start a business/farm
- Job assistance
- Unemployment benefits for a year

Broad Meaning

Final Bill Supported by...

Harry Comery

John Rankin

Bennett Clark

William Randolph Hearst

Some Names

GHWBush

HKissinger

ABuchwald

JMichener

Objections

- Friedrich Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, 1944
 - An aid to the war effort, but also a warning to the Allied Nations
 - “planning leads to dictatorship”
 - Reader’s Digest condensed version
 - Selective use through time
- Joseph Schumpeter and “Creative Destruction”

- GIs Themselves
 - 52/20 men
- William F. Buckley, *The National Review*
 - Intellectual anchor to modern conservatism and rise of Barry Goldwater –
 - free-markets and anti-communism
 - Struggled with position on state's rights and civil rights

The House I Live In

What is America to me?

A name, a map, a flag I see; a certain word, democracy.

What is America to me?

The house I live in,

A plot of earth, a street, The grocer and the butcher,

Or the people that I meet;

The children in the playground,

The faces that I see,

All races and religions,

That's America to me.

The place I work in,

The worker by my side,

The little town or city

Where my people lived and died.

The howdy and the handshake,

The air and feeling free,

And the right to speak my mind out,

That's America to me.

The things I see about me,
The big things and the small,
The little corner newsstand,
And the house a mile tall;
The wedding and the churchyard,
The laughter and the tears,
And the dream that's been a growing
For a hundred-eighty years.

The town I live in,
The street, the house, the room,
The pavement of the city,
And the garden all in bloom;
The church, the school, the clubhouse,
The million lights I see,
But especially the people;
That's America to me.

The house I live in,
My neighbors white and black,
The people who just came here,
Or from generations back;

The town hall and the soapbox,
The torch of liberty,
A home for all God's children;
That's America to me.

The words of old Abe Lincoln,
Of Jefferson and Paine,
Of Washington and Jackson
And the tasks that still remain;
The little bridge at Concord,
Where Freedom's fight began,
Our Gettysburg and Midway
And the story of Bataan.

The house I live in,
The goodness everywhere,
A land of wealth and beauty,
With enough for all to share;
A house that we call Freedom,
A home of Liberty,
And it belongs to fighting people
That's America to me.



Levittown – The GI Bill's Most Visible Legacy

<http://tigger.uic.edu/~pbhales/Levittown/>



One of four different styles of the Jubilee



One of four different styles of the Levittowner



Levittown IN 1957

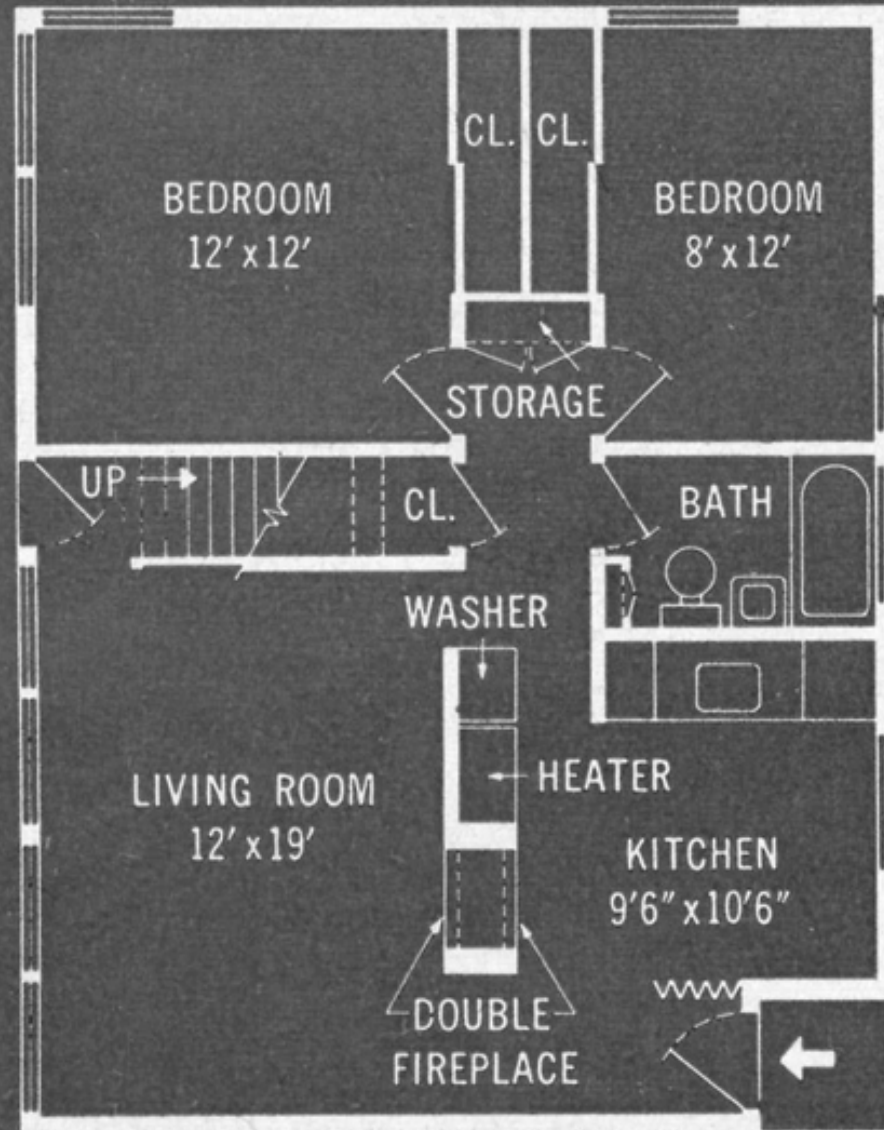


One of five different styles of the Pennsylvanians



One of four different styles of the Country Clubber

<http://www.actionspeaksradio.org/2009/09/11/levittown.jpg>







- **Tony Linck, for *Life Magazine, Workman installing Bendix Washer, June, 1948.***

The Best of Times

- The Century 1778 Best Years (Min. 1:30 – 10+)
 - Levittown









- [tp://tigger.uic.edu/~pbhales/Levittown/](http://tigger.uic.edu/~pbhales/Levittown/)

Bernard Hoffman, for *Life Magazine*, *Bernard Levey Family in front of their 1950 Ranch house*, May, 1950

The Century 1779
Happy Daze
(Min. 3 – 13:45)

– Togetherness



The Best of Times

Baby Boom and Suburban and Consumer Culture; Economic Prosperity; *The Affluent Society*; Credit

Federal Highway Act, 1956, Automobile & residual industries, and “Suburban Industrial Complex”

“Happy Daze” and Togetherness

Authentic

GNP, Numbers...

Turner Thesis, Opportunity and the American Dream

Levittown – 1,2,3,

Joseph Scherschel, for *Life* Magazine, *A Class for Home Owners...*, 1957



Conversion to Dutch Colonial, Levittown, 1990





How, Why, What

- Levittown “2” (Pennsylvania)

Video - State Historical Society

- How did this boom occur?
 - Direct Government Subsidies
 - Highways and Bi-ways
 - Wages
- What did it signify?

Crabgrass Frontiers (Kenneth Jackson)

"Little Boxes" - - - (Malvina Reynolds)

Little boxes on the hillside,
Little boxes made of ticky tacky,
Little boxes on the hillside,
Little boxes all the same.
There's a green one and a pink one
And a blue one and a yellow one,
And they're all made out of ticky tacky
And they all look just the same.
And the people in the houses
All went to the university,
Where they were put in boxes
And they came out all the same,
And there's doctors and lawyers,
And business executives,
And they're all made out of ticky tacky
And they all look just the same.

And they all play on the golf course
And drink their martinis dry,
And they all have pretty children
And the children go to school,
And the children go to summer camp
And then to the university,
Where they are put in boxes
And they come out all the same.
And the boys go into business
And marry and raise a family
In boxes made of ticky tacky
And they all look just the same.
There's a green one and a pink one
And a blue one and a yellow one,
And they're all made out of ticky tacky
And they all look just the same.

Crabgrass Frontiers and Lonely Crowds

- David Riesman *The Lonely Crowd*
 - Who defines us?
 - Inner v. other-directed personalities
 - In modern suburbia, we seek neighbors' approval to fit in
 - Q: Is this similar to high school?
 - Later
 - American universities – as achieving a similar conformity
 - studied women's connections to each other in suburbia, finding some evidence that may surprise.

I Shall Be Released - - - Bob Dylan

They say everything can be
replaced.

They say every distance is not
near

I see my light come shining from
the west unto the east

Any day now, any day now, I shall
be released.

Standing next to me in this lonely
crowd

Is a man who swears he's not to
blame

All day long I hear him shout so
loud

Crying out that he was framed.

So I remember every face
Of every man who put me here.
I see my light come shining
From the west unto the east

Any day now, any day now,
I shall be released.

They say every man needs
protection

They say every man must fall
So I swear I see my reflection
Someplace so high above this
wall.

Herbert Gans

Participant-Observer (1958-59) *The Levittowners: Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community* (1967)

"The critics have argued that long commutation by the father is helping to create a suburban matriarchy with deleterious effects on the children, and that homogeneity, social hyperactivity, and the absence of urban stimuli create depression, boredom, loneliness, and ultimately mental illness. The findings from Levittown suggest just the opposite - that suburban life has produced more family cohesion and a significant boost in morale through the reduction of boredom and loneliness." (220) and

"They also look at suburbia as outsiders, who approach the community with a 'tourist' perspective. The tourist wants visual interest, cultural diversity, entertainment, esthetic pleasure, variety (preferably exotic), and emotional stimulation. The resident, on the other hand, wants a comfortable, convenient, and socially satisfying place to live..." (186) and

"The disappearance of farmland near the big cities is irrelevant now that food is produced on huge industrialized farms, and the destruction of raw land and private upper class golf courses seems a small price to pay for extending the benefits of suburban life to more people." (423)

Organization Men

William Whyte, *The Organization Man*

<http://writing.upenn.edu/~afilreis/50s/whyte-main.html>

Addressed

The impact of mass organization on
American society – at work and at home

Select Chapter titles

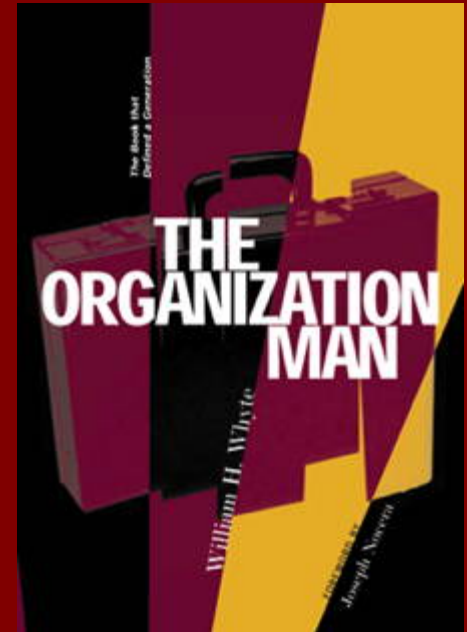
02, "The Decline of the Protestant Ethic"

08, "Business Influence on Education"

16, "The Fight against Genius"

20, "Society as Hero"

Coupled with Riesman, think of de Tocqueville's
observation on contradictions.



Gray Flannel Suits

Sloane Wilson, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1955, 56)



- Critiques the “enervating compromises implicit in the suburban ethos
- Asks: What is our purpose in life?

Other Authors and Cultural Critics

- J.D. Salinger
 - *Catcher in the Rye*, 1951
- Ernest Hemingway
 - *The Old Man and the Sea*, 1952
- Jack Kerouac
 - *On the Road*, 1951 - 1957
- Beats...

Women Divide Over this Dream

- Having it all: Family and Self
 - Suburban Rapture
 - La Leche
- Rona Jaffe
 - Following dreams and how we deal when they go wrong



Guilt and angst amidst opportunity

- Rules and Standards
- Betty Friedan - “The problem that has no name”
“The Feminine Mystique”

La Leche League

- Primarily Catholic mothers who wanted to “repair the world, and they translated that into a concern with the health of women and babies”
 - Rested control from experts and promoted breast-feeding
 - Yet also read *The Feminine Mystique* and considered themselves feminists
 - Discussed women’s issues; emphasized natural foods,...

Phyllis McGinley

- Content as a wife, mother and poet
- *Revolutionary Road*, by Richard Yates
 - Accdg to Ginia Bellafante, For Yates, suburban Connecticut “wasn’t dull; it was tragic, the end of something”
 - Since the 1960s, we have lamented suburbia as stifling – a bubble absent of diversity. “we have tended to read mythologies of suburban lament as if they were reportage.”
- McGinley found manicured lawns of suburbia to be wonderful
 - “A liberal arts education is not a tool like a hoe... or an electric mixer. It is a true and precious stone which can glow as wholesomely on a kitchen table...”
- A paradox who promoted traditionalism alongside self-selected ambitions

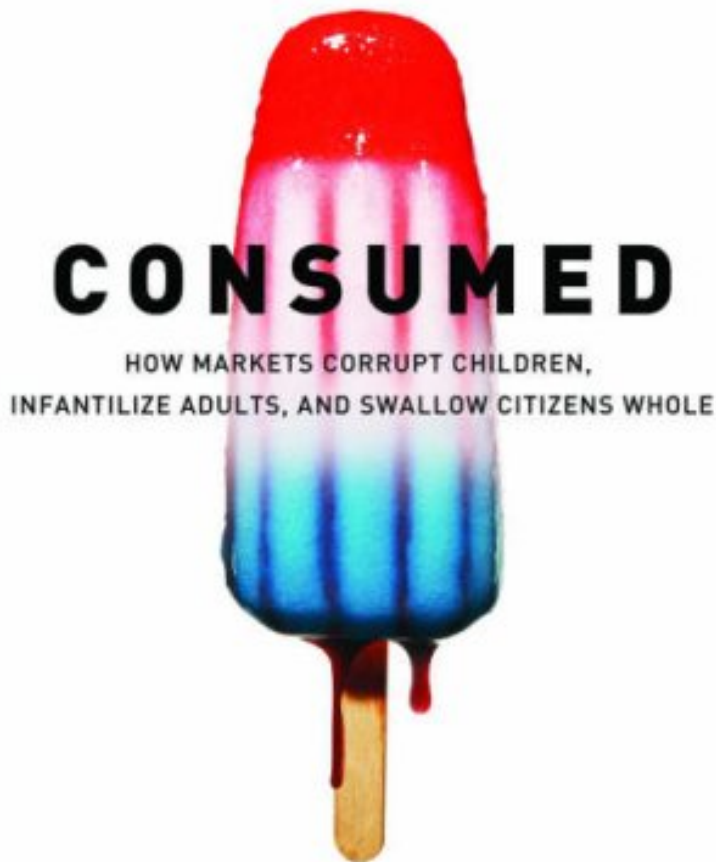
Profligacy?

In the 20th century two versions of freedom emerged in America. The modern liberal version emphasizes civil liberties, political participation and social justice...

But [for] most ordinary Americans, freedom has been radically privatized... [as] largely a personal matter having to do with relations with others and success in the world. Freedom, in this conception, means doing what one wants and getting one's way... It is experienced most powerfully in mobility – both socioeconomic and geographic.

Orlando Patterson, January 22, 2005, NY Times





Do we live in a decadent culture?

If yes, is that bad?

Do we enslave ourselves to consumption?

Are we a self-absorbed culture?

In the 1970s, Christopher Lasch called it “the culture of narcissism”

Think blogs and Facebook

Do we rush childhood?

Think of the pop icons for girls – the meaning in lyrics and the style of dance.



Is the Work Ethic Gone in America?

- Debt v. Credit - Consumption v. Production
 - St. Paul's warning; Benjamin Franklin et al*
 - *The Saturday Evening Post*, 1924: "the firmly rooted aversion to debt in any form which prevailed a generation ago has almost completely evaporated."
 - John Kenneth Galbraith, 1958: "there has been an inexplicable but very real retreat from the Puritan canon that required an individual save first and enjoy later."
- Yet debt and borrowing are deeply American
 - To start or expand a business - Market and Industrial Revolution through today
 - To buy a home....
 - Distinction between productive and consumptive debt
- Recall level of Private Debt and Consider power of "keeping up with the Joneses"

- John Patrick Diggins
 - Locke and role of work
- Matthew Warshauer
 - “Who Wants to Be a Millionaire” Changing Conceptions of the American Dream”
 - Economic Independence or Extravagant Wealth?
 - Entitlement or Achievement?

1970s: Me Generation & the Crisis of Confidence

I want to talk to you right now about a fundamental threat to American democracy... The threat is nearly invisible in ordinary ways. It is a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of a unity of purpose for our nation. The erosion of our confidence in the future is threatening to destroy the social and the political fabric of America...

In a nation that was proud of hard work, strong families, close-knit communities, and our faith in God, too many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. Human identity is no longer defined by what one does, but by what one owns. But we've discovered that owning things and consuming things does not satisfy our longing for meaning. We've learned that piling up material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives which have no confidence or purpose.

The symptoms of this crisis of the American spirit are all around us. For the first time in the history of our country a majority of our people believe that the next five years will be worse than the past five years. Two-thirds of our people do not even vote. The productivity of American workers is actually dropping, and the willingness of Americans to save for the future has fallen below that of all other people in the Western world.

1980s

- 1980s
 - Madonna – “Material Girl”
 - Gordon Gekko
 - *Wall Street* and “Greed is Good”
 - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7upG01-XWbY>

Foxwoods

http://www.foxwoods.com/uploadedFiles/About_Foxwoods/resort_map.pdf



In 1986 the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation opened the original high-stakes bingo hall. Today Foxwoods comprises six casinos that offer more than 6,200 slot machines and an incredible 380 tables for 17 different types of table games, including 100 for poker. There's a luxurious, high-tech Race Book, as well as the world's largest Bingo Hall.

With a Dream Card you become one of our most valued guests. The Dream Card is the free player rewards card for both MGM Grand at Foxwoods and Foxwoods Resort Casino. Whether you play Slots or Tables, your play will be recognized and rewarded every time you use your card. Redeem your points for merchandise from one of our many retail stores, superior dining, rejuvenating spa treatments, overnight accommodations, theater tickets and so much more.



DreamCardsSM presents

**Double your points.
Multiply your rewards.**



**Now Earn
Double Points
every Tuesday
in September!**

“Foxwoods Casino, in Connecticut - A large circular curtain of water serves as the projection surface for laser and video shows produced by LASERIUM for the world's largest casino. Spectacular displays reward winners, while all guests are enthralled by hourly shows”

<http://www.pequotmuseum.org/>

Post Cold War

- 1990s – “Dividend”?
- Lotteries
 - To achieve the dream
 - To fund programs
- Law Suits
 - “My Rights” and Whose Responsibility
- What Pop Culture May Say
 - Who Wants to Be...
 - Idols, Runways, and Trumped
- G.W. Bush to B. Obama
 - Revisiting the “Forgotten Man” (Will, 9-17-10)

The Best of Times??

Double V and An American Dilemma (Gunnar Myrdal)

- A vicious cycle – denied opportunity, blacks under perform. That confirms white belief.
- The American Creed of fair play was undermined by systemic racism. It was thus equally a “white problem”.
- Egalitarian impulse noted by James Truslow Adams

Whose Freedom and Whose Dream?

Langston Hughes, Let America be America Again, 1938

Let America be America again. Let it be the dream it used to be.
Let it be the pioneer on the plain Seeking a home where he himself is free.
(America never was America to me.)

Let America be the dream the dreamers dreamed-- Let it be that great
strong land of love
Where never kings connive nor tyrants scheme That any man be crushed
by one above. (It never was America to me.)

O, let my land be a land where Liberty Is crowned with no false patriotic
wreath,
But opportunity is real, and life is free, Equality is in the air we breathe.
(There's never been equality for me, Nor freedom in this "homeland of the
free.")

I, Too

*I, too, sing America.
I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the
kitchen
When company comes,
But I laugh, And eat well,
And grow strong.
Tomorrow,
I'll sit at the table
When company comes.
Nobody'll dare
Say to me, "Eat in the kitchen,"
Then.
Besides,
They'll see how beautiful I am
And be ashamed,--
I, too, am America.*

"Lenox Avenue Mural" "Harlem"

*What happens to a dream
deferred?
Does it dry up like a raisin
in the sun?
Or fester like a sore--
And then run?
Does it stink like rotten
meat?
Or crust and sugar over--
like a syrupy sweet?

Maybe it just sags like a
heavy load.
Or does it explode?*

Diversity and Levittown

<http://tigger.uic.edu/~pbhales/race.html>

- For its first years, Levittown wasn't just overwhelmingly white: it was entirely white. The Levitt organization's people didn't rent homes to Negroes or colored people, and after they began to sell, they didn't sell to them either. In addition, those who rented were forbidden to sublet to nonwhites, and those who owned were also enjoined by restrictions in the bill of sale from selling to anyone not white or, more precisely, not "Caucasian," to quote from the Levitt lease.
- ... In the newspapers, new subdivisions aimed at integrationists and people of color had to advertise the fact in the real estate ads: "No restrictions! No discrimination!" read one. Ronek Park, also on Long Island, opened in 1950, with a declaration by its builder, Thomas Romano: "Dedicated to the Proposition that All Men Are Created Equal...and no UnAmerican, Undemocratic restrictions as to race, color or creed!" His declaration was comforting, but it wasn't creed that mattered on Long Island. Jews and Catholics were surreptitiously banned from many places but rarely from housing developments. It was race that separated Ronek Park from Levittown. Ronek Park and its fellow non-racial subdivisions ended up overwhelmingly or entirely black-- there just weren't white Americans willing to overcome their fears in sufficient numbers to make Romano's utopian experiment work.
- Veterans-- black veterans, anyway-- may have been outraged, but only a naive or heroically stubborn few expected otherwise. Throughout the war, housing in military barracks and defense plants had sequestered soldiers and workers by race as well as by gender. On the Manhattan Project, sites in the South were completely segregated, while other sites began with some integration but quickly converted to segregation-- in housing and jobs, entertainment and dining. Conditions for blacks were pointedly worse than for whites and their labor was persistently undervalued. This was the pattern on the bases and in the defense plants throughout most of the United States during the war, and there wasn't much evidence that things would rapidly change when war was over.

Jim Crow Pennsylvania DVD clip

Singing the Dream

America (My Country 'Tis of Thee)



“A voice like yours...”

Marion Anderson performing
at the Lincoln Memorial, 1939

Agency and Noblesse Oblige 1932 to 1939

1932 DAR adopts a new policy



Grant Wood, Daughters of Revolution, 1932

Marion and the NAACP

Key Actors

Sol Hurok,— manager

Walter White – President of the NAACP

Harold Ickes – Secretary of the Interior

1935 - D.C. High School

1939 – Hurok, NAACP, Howard U. petition DAR

Eleanor Roosevelt

Scott Sandage, “A Marble House Divided” (1993)

April 9, 1939

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=88UTjnWhAxE>

Carried by NBC

**“A voice like yours is heard
once in a hundred years”**

Arturo Toscanini on Marion Anderson

Making Real a Proposition

THE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. PAPERS PROJECT

An Appeal to You from

JAMES FARMER Congress of Racial Equality	MARTIN LUTHER KING Southern Christian Leader and Churchman	JOHN LEWIS Ruralist, Nonviolent Confronting Committee
A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH Negro Minister at Lincoln Center	ROY WILKINS NAACP Representative for the Advancement of Colored People	WHITNEY YOUNG National Urban League

**to
MARCH ON WASHINGTON**

America Faces a crisis...
Millions of Negroes are denied freedom...
Millions of citizens, black and white, are unemployed...

Discrimination and economic deprivation plague the nation and rob all people, Negro and white, of dignity and self-respect. At a time we think we have won almost freedom, ill-timed, second-class and even inferior treatment, the right of white supremacy for a decent life will not.

Therefore we call on all Americans to join us in Washington:

- 1 to demand the passage of effective civil rights legislation which will guarantee to all:
 - ... decent housing
 - ... access to all public accommodations
 - ... adequate and integrated education
 - ... the right to vote
- 2 to present complaints to Congress against such legislation
- 3 to demand a federal massive work and training program that give all unemployed workers, black and white, back to work
- 4 to demand an EOP Act which bars discrimination by federal, state and municipal governments by employers, by contractors, employment agencies and trade unions
- 5 to demand a national minimum wage, which includes all workers, of not less than \$2.00 an hour

In our community, groups are mobilizing for the March. You can get information on how to join March from many civil rights organizations, churches, organizations, labor unions, fraternal organizations and youth groups.

JOIN THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM
and become part of the great American revolution for human freedom and justice here.

National Office—
MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM
1300 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20004
New York Office, New York

Cleveland Office
1000 Broadway, 10th Floor, Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Layout: Berlin
Chicago, Illinois





A Philip Randolph, 1941 and 1963

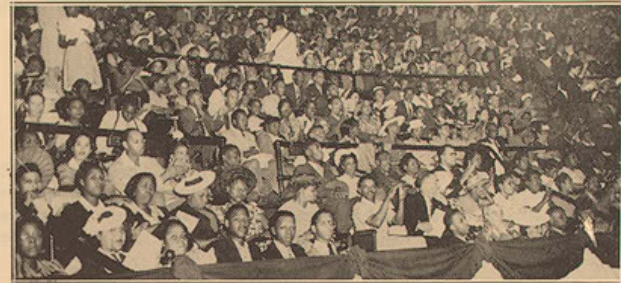
What Are Our Immediate Goals?

1. To mobilize five million Negroes into one militant mass for pressure.
2. To assemble in Chicago the last week in May, 1943, for the celebration of

"WE ARE AMERICANS - TOO" WEEK

And to ponder the question of Non-Violent Civil Disobedience and Non-Cooperation, and a Mass March On Washington.

WHY SHOULD WE MARCH?



15,000 Negroes Assembled at St. Louis, Missouri
20,000 Negroes Assembled at Chicago, Illinois
23,500 Negroes Assembled at New York City
Millions of Negro Americans all Over This Great
Land Claim the Right to be Free!

FREE FROM WANT!
FREE FROM FEAR!
FREE FROM JIM CROW!

*"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War
for Democracy!" — A. Philip Randolph*



March on Washington Movement Flyer,
ca. 1941.

March On Washington Movement

*"Winning Democracy for the Negro is
Winning the War for Democracy"*

□
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
National Director

□
E. PAULINE MYERS
Executive Secretary

□
B. F. McLAURIN
National Secretary

□
National Headquarters
THERESA HOTEL BUILDING
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.
MOnument 2-3350

How to Organize a Unit March On Washington Movement

□ Objectives

1. To crystallize the mass consciousness of grievances and injustices against Negroes and project it into a Cause for which Negroes themselves will gladly and willingly suffer and sacrifice.
2. To re-educate white America on the question of equality for Negroes.
3. To enlist the support of liberal and christian white America in an all-out struggle for unadulterated democracy at home as well as abroad.
4. To operate by means of mass maneuvers and demonstrations.

□
National Headquarters
MARCH ON WASHINGTON
MOVEMENT
Hotel Theresa Building
2084 Seventh Avenue
New York City

March on Washington Movement brochure,
ca. 1941.



February 2, 1942

Reaction



Woodward Avenue, Detroit (1943)



"An armed black homeowner protects his property and family from roving crowds near the Sojourner neighborhood."

Planning for August 28, 1963

- A. Philip Randolph
 - Background and Proposal
- Bayard Rustin
 - Ella Baker, “He believed that ordinary individuals could make a vast difference in the world, and he communicated this conviction widely.” (Crisis, 2003)
 - Contentious background
 - Effort and Goals

The Events

In attendance

- Eleanor Holmes Norton, Ernest Green
- Ozzie Davis, PPM, Bernice Johnson Reagon, Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Harry Belafonte, Sydney Poitier, Lena Horne, Sammy Davis Jr, Paul Newman, Burt Lancaster, Marlon Brando, Charleton Heston, Jackie Robinson, Josephine Baker, James Baldwin, Mahalia Jackson, Marion Anderson,

Program

The National Anthem: Led by Marian Anderson. I

nvocation: Rev. Patrick O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington.

Opening Remarks: A. Philip Randolph, Director March on Washington

Remarks: Dr. Eugene Blake, United Presbyterian Church, Vice Chairman,
Commission on Race Rltions of the Ntl. Cncl of Churches of Christ in America.

Tribute to Negro Women Fighters for Freedom: Daisy Bates, Diane Nash Bevel,
Mrs. Medgar Evers, Mrs. Herbert Lee, Rosa Parks, Gloria Richardson

Remarks: John Lewis, Chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Remarks: Walter Reuther, President, UAW, AFL-CIO; Chairman, I.U. Dpt. AFL-CIO.

Remarks: James Farmer, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality. [Farmer's
statement is read by Floyd McKissick of CORE]

Song: Eva Jessye Choir

Prayer: Rabbi Uri Miller, President Synagogue Council of America.

Remarks: Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League.

Remarks: Matthew Ahmann, Exec. Dir. National Catholic Conf. for Interracial
Justice.

Remarks: Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, NAACP

We've Been 'Buked and We've Been Scorned: Mahalia Jackson.

Remarks: Rabbi Joachim Prinz, President American Jewish Congress.

Remarks: The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, President, SCLC.

The Pledge: A. Philip Randolph

Benediction: Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College.

“The” Speech

- MLK’s plan – parallel Gettysburg Address
 - Reason – Kennedy’s efforts
- As he looked out upon the crowd...
- 1st half to two-thirds
 - Legend – Mahalia Jackson
- 2nd half...
 - Used before, but in THIS context and THIS moment
 - After Birmingham (Bull Connor, dogs, Letter from Birmingham Jail)
- And then... volunteers

Impact

- Initial
 - First national effort → national discussion
 - James Reston, NYT, paralleled King to Roger Williams, Sam Adams, Thoreau, WL Garrison and Eugene Debs.. “Each time...”
- Militant Black Voices
 - James Bevel
 - Malcolm X
 - John Lewis*?

Beyond the Day

- September 15, 1963 - 16th St. Baptist Church
- Curtis Mayfield, "People Get Ready"

People Get Ready

Curtis Mayfield, first released 1965

People get ready
There's a train comin'
You don't need no baggage
You just-a get on board
All you need is some faith
To hear the diesel hummin'
And you don't need a ticket
You just thank the Lord

Let me tell you
There ain't no room for the
hopeless sinner
Who'd hurt all mankind
Just to save his own
Have some pity on those
Whose chances are growin'
thinner

Cause there's no hidin' place
Against the kingdom's throne

(People get ready)

I tell you, people get ready
For there's a train comin'
You don't need a ticket
You just get on board
I tell you, people get ready
For there's a train comin'
And you don't need no
baggage
You just thank the Lord

No you don't need a ticket
You just a-thank the Lord